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ABSTRACT

This guide is intended for use with two videotapes--"Pain and Promise" and "Fitting In"--that address the educational needs of Hmong and Lao students. Information presented in the guide includes brief descriptions of the social organization, religions, languages, and educational backgrounds of Lao and Hmong refugees. Differences and similarities between the two groups are also outlined. Indochinese bilingual program models in the three school districts featured in the videotapes (St. Paul, Minnesota; and Sheboygan and Madison, Wisconsin) are described. Problems from the perspectives of Indochinese students and the schools are then reviewed, and solutions are considered. An extensive list of references (publications; slides, videotapes, and films; and sources for Lao, Hmong, and general Indochinese materials) is also provided. (GC)

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FROM LAOS TO THE MIDWEST

Schools and Students in Transition

Guide for video programs.

PAIN AND PROMISE

FITTING IN

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UD 023 454

Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction / Herbert J. Grover, State Superintendent

Bulletin No. 49-05

FROM LAOS TO THE MIDWEST: SCHOOLS AND STUDENTS IN TRANSITION

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WISCONSIN DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION
November 1983

FOREWARD

The Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction in coordination with the Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Languages Affairs--U.S. Department of Education has, in recent years, recognized the special needs of students of limited English proficiency. In addition, the Department has provided technical assistance to local schools, has developed curricular materials for the various language groups within the state and has promoted and approved bilingual teacher certification programs within the various institutions of higher education in the state.

However, despite these activities, one persistent need has not been met. What has been missing is knowledge about the cultural characteristics of the various linguistic minorities in the state along with some practical suggestions for acquiring and using cultural knowledge to help students with limited English proficiency achieve a higher degree of success within the public school system. This publication has been developed to meet the special needs of Hmong and Lao students.

I wish to thank all of those who have contributed to this undertaking. All of us in the Department who worked on this project are especially appreciative of the efforts of Dr. Judith Guskin and Ms. Beth L. Goldstein who edited, authorized and organized the material into a pedagogically useful training program.

This publication is dedicated to everyone who has worked to develop quality educational programs for linguistic minorities of varying cultural backgrounds in the public schools of our state.

Herbert J. Grover
State Superintendent

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I. INTRODUCTION

This guide is intended for use with two videotapes "Pain and Promise" and "Fitting In" to help meet the educational needs of Hmong and Lao students. The education of these students is a high priority for the Hmong and Lao refugees as well as for the American educators who helped them. Everyone is aware that the limited educational experiences of these students makes the task of designing and implementing effective school programs challenging. However, staff are being trained and are learning from their experiences, resources are being acquired, and students are learning and even graduating from high school.

The purpose of the videotapes is to capture how schools are learning from their experiences and what they still need in order to provide an appropriate and useful education to both young children and adolescents from Laos. The cooperation of school personnel in Madison and Sheboygan, Wisconsin, and St. Paul, Minnesota, and community leaders and the Hmong and Lao students made this project possible.

In addition to the focus on the school programs, these programs aim to show some of the traumas these students have endured and are enduring, and the support their families and communities give to them. This is a more difficult task, as these issues can only be touched on briefly in the short video programs. Besides, it is hard to really understand their lives of pain, the problems of intergenerational change, and how the big and little changes might shape future generations.

How could we understand the painful flight from a village, a homeland, a whole way of life? Would we have survived running away in fear from soldiers chasing us in the jungle? Could we have endured sleeping on the ground in the jungle, endless rainy days and persistent hunger? Would we have been able to swim across the Mekong River in the dark without drowning? Would we have learned much English as we waited in the refugee camp looking forward to a strange new life halfway around the world and dreading the tearful goodbyes that good news would bring?

Once in school in America, would we have wondered if our fellow students really wanted us here? Could we have endured the pain of feeling stupid because the simplest of things were unfamiliar to us? Not only would we have to learn through English, but also to learn how to be friendly, and how to respond to others if there were not friendly. And no one at home would know how to help us. Torn between new aspirations for ourselves and a sense of responsibility to our family and relatives, what would we choose?

The schools selected for the two videotapes have adaptive settings and are demonstrating a commitment to providing refugee youth with special services. In addition, administrators and staff who were interviewed are enthusiastic

about their work. They are open to learning more about Hmong and Lao people and helping them adapt to both school and community settings. Many volunteered their out-of-school time to help students and attended community special events.

In addition to the positive examples, a number of important contrasts are presented in the videotapes. Problems of teens are handled separately from those of elementary students. Also, concerns regarding the education of girls are included because Hmong community leaders made a particular plea for some inclusion of this issue in the project. A district like St. Paul is large and has had to adapt to substantial numbers of Hmong pupils, while Madison is smaller and has had fewer students. Sheboygan's limited English proficiency population is homogeneous (almost exclusively Hmong), while Madison's is much more diverse. Sheboygan's program is relatively recent compared with that of St. Paul. Both Sheboygan and St. Paul have active Hmong/Lao associations while Madison does not yet have a Hmong/Lao association. These contrasts are touched upon briefly in the videotapes.

Since there are limited resources on Hmong and Lao people, background information has been provided in this guide. It is hoped that the brief information on the history, language, culture, and education will encourage more interest in the students from Laos. Existing materials were reviewed, selected and edited; quotes from interviews with Hmong and Lao people and educators were used in the hope of stimulating discussion. A list of print, film and video reference materials and where to obtain them is included. Beth Goldstein, production assistant for the videotapes, took major responsibility for the supplementary materials which will prove to be a valuable resource for districts wishing to use them as part of an inservice activity. Her sensitivity to Hmong and Lao people as well as her intellectual abilities and interest in the project were invaluable.

While every educational setting is unique, some common elements of adaptive organization can be identified. Some of these are:

1. Staff trained to meet the needs of limited English proficiency students and who continue to improve their skills through inservice activities and independently pursued study and experiences;

2. Staffing patterns that reflect the need for bilingual teachers, aides, and resource persons in order to provide greater individualization of instruction, to allow students to express feelings and ideas, and to link bilingual and ESL teachers with parents and mainstream teachers;

3. Flexibility in scheduling and in entrance/exit requirements to allow for gradual mainstreaming of students in the program;

4. Administrative support for teachers who wish to adapt curricula and seek new resources for program expansion;

5. Administrative support for the acquisition and adaptation of materials;

6. Enough staff to indicate that the organization is serious about giving some priority to the special needs of refugee students;

7. Adequate and on-going communication among staff and administrators to resolve underlying conflicts;

8. Positive links to key community groups, self-help associations and parents to support and assist the school in program development;

9. Periodic review of goals and services to promote incremental improvements and revisions;

10. Integration of special program personnel and program needs as part of a long-term responsibility for refugee populations.

It is not possible for us to fully understand the perspectives of refugee students and their families, but it is important for us to be open to learning and caring. It is not possible for schools to solve the problems of unemployment and stresses refugee families face, but it is important for them to provide a positive climate of learning, trained staff and adequate resources to enable refugee youth to gain the knowledge and confidence they will need to shape a new generation. The schools featured in the videotapes are providing educational opportunities in a humane fashion. It is hoped that by viewing the programs and reading this guide, others will be stimulated to improve what they are doing.

--Judith T. Guskin

INDIA
PAK.
CHINA
SURMA
VIETNAM
Taipei
TAIWAN
LAOS
Hanoi
Victoria
HONG KONG
(British)
MACAO
(Port.)
Vientiane
Rangoon
THAILAND
Bangkok
South China Sea
CAMBODIA
Phnom Penh
MALAYSIA
Kuala Lumpur
SINGAPORE

II. HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL BACKGROUNDS

A. Introduction

Laos is a landlocked Southeast Asian country, formerly part of French colonial Indochina. The country has an area of about 91,000 square miles, primarily made up of hills and mountains north of the Mekong River basin. The population is estimated at 3,000,000 people, about 50% of whom are ethnic Lao. The remainder include various tribal groups, the largest of whom are the Hmong, the Tai Dam (Black Tai), and the Mien. Lao is the dominant language and Theravada Buddhism the dominant religion but each of the tribal groups has its own distinct language and religious beliefs. Village and family organized agriculture is the basis of the Laotian economy.

From the end of French colonial rule in 1954, Laos has been torn by the struggle for political dominance by rightist, leftist, and neutralist factions. By 1973 the Pathet Lao (leftist) controlled most of Laos with the exception of the Mekong River basin and the major cities, which were governed by the Royal Lao Government (rightist). A provisional government of National Union united these two forces in 1974 but was dissolved by December 1975 when the Pathet Lao took complete public control of the government. Since 1975 thousands of Laotians who supported the Royal Lao government or worked for the U.S. CIA have fled the country to take refuge in Thailand and China. From the refugee camps of Thailand, Lao, Hmong, Tai Dam, and Mien have been resettled in the U.S.

The following sections contain brief descriptions of the social organizations, religions, languages, and educational backgrounds of these Lao and Hmong refugees. Brevity necessitates generalized discussions. In practice, much borrowing has occurred between Hmong and Lao people; Western influences have changed traditional customs, particularly in urban areas; and years of camp life have had their impact. The experience, beliefs, and practices of individual Laotians are bound to vary.

B. Lao Social Organization and Religion

The Lao ethnic group has lived in Laos for over 2000 years. This population occupies the Mekong River basin of southern Laos. A strong socio-economic division exists between the rural majority of the population who work in wet-rice agriculture and the urban minority of government and industry employees.

The basic social unit of Lao society is the extended family. The Lao word "phinong," which literally means older and younger siblings but is used for a wide range of relationships of mutual responsibility, captures this centrality of familial bonds in Lao society.

A single household generally comprises one nuclear family of parents and children, but it is usually located in close proximity to households of

the extended family. Extended family households cooperate in economic and religious activities. A successful family member will provide services and prestige to the entire family.

Sons move away from home upon marriage, either to establish a new home or to join their wife's family. However, they still maintain obligations toward their parents. The youngest daughter traditionally inherits her parents' homestead in exchange for caring for her parents as they grow old. Childcare is a familial responsibility shared by parents, grandparents, and older siblings.

Men hold higher social status than women both inside and out of the home. The head of the household is usually the senior working male. Most public offices in village, urban, and religious spheres are held by men. However, women play a significant economic role. They control household finances and are also the most active participants as buyers and sellers in village marketing systems.

Theravada Buddhism is the dominant religion of the ethnic Lao. It has played a central role in Lao villagers daily lives. Lao Buddhism emphasizes merit-making and proper behavior as the route to spiritual well-being and improved conditions in the next life. Villages aspire to support a Buddhist temple with its monks. Villagers regularly participate in temple prayer, festivals and activities. It is the custom for every man to enter the monkhood as a novice for at least three months at some time in his life.

At the same time as they follow Buddhist traditions, Lao also believe in spirit worship. This includes care of the guardian spirits of body, home, and land, as well as attention to fortune tellers and astrologers.

Buddhist and spiritual rites are both practiced in the Lao home. Life cycle events, such as marriage, are officiated by Buddhist monks. Buddhist altars are found in many homes. Spirits are cared for through many rituals, including with food offerings and the commonly performed Sukhwan, or Baci, ceremony (See Appendix A).

Few Lao are Christians. Although Christian missionaries were active in Laos, they had more influence over Hmong and other hill tribes than over the Lao.

C. Hmong Social Organization*

A patrilineal clan system not only dominates Hmong social organization but also serves as a primary integrating factor in Hmong culture as a whole. (A patrilineal clan system is one in which the society is divided into social groups, or clans, and a child, at birth, automatically becomes a member of the clan to which his or her father belongs.) There are about twenty clans in all Hmong society. The clan system functions in a cohesive manner to interrelate the social, political, economic, and religious aspects of Hmong culture.

The household is the basic unit in the Hmong social structure. The term "household" must be treated somewhat loosely, since it need not refer only to those who live in one house. Rather, it includes those persons who are under the authority of the householder. This means that a household will consist of a husband, wife or wives. their children, their sons' wives and children, and possibly children in the next generation. In addition, the household may have a few relatives who are too weak to maintain normal responsibilities, and are dependent upon their relatives in this particular household. As many as 35 people may live under one roof. Frequently a married son may erect a house close to his parents' home into which he moves after a child is born.

Members of a household always carry their clan name in addition to their given names. The clan names generally find their origin in mythology. Complete strangers who are unable to discover any common ancestry but who have the same clan name consider each other to be "clan siblings" and consequently observe any formalities or behavior which are therefore incumbent on them.

Members of the same clan refer to one another in a common term, ku tyo kue ti, 'my youngers and olders'. In the household the members call each other by specific terms which designate the actual relationship of the individual to any other members of the household. Thus even in everyday speech, language serves to reinforce the traditional social structure in the minds of the Hmongs and implicitly indoctrinates the children in the same.

The household as a unit serves to train the children. Although children are basically the responsibility of their immediate parents, it appears that everyone in the household takes a part in the informal education and training of a younger person. Corrections may be made by elders without incurring the bad will of parents. One never observes corporal punishment of children, but deep respect and obedience to parents and elders are characteristic of the Hmong.

The Hmong place high value on old age. In their conception, anyone of old age should have respect. This is reflected in the titles by which people of older generations are customarily addressed. These titles may be applied to younger people who have attained special status and deserve this sort of respect. The Hmong train their young people to be self-reliant, and they admire a strong individualistic spirit.

Within a household a young man may disagree with his father only in the mildest terms, although he may oppose him strongly. As a man assumes family responsibilities, he may become increasingly self-assertive, but should always pay deference to his aging father. The women are recognized as possessing authority over the children. In all family considerations the head of household's word is final authority.

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*Excerpted from "The Hmong of Northern Laos" by G. L. Barney in Glimpses of Hmong History and Culture, Indochinese Refugee Education Guides, General Information Series #16. Washington, DC: 1980. Center for Applied Linguistics.

Marriage has very important effects on the girl's relationship with her parents. In theory, she leaves her father's family, household, and clan (although she does not take on the name of her husband's clan); she becomes fully identified with the family of her husband. Should he die, she is responsible to the family of her husband. She has no demands whatsoever on her own father's family. In actual practice she may visit her home frequently, and even continue close relations with her family. After all, there may be other marriages being planned between the two clans or even between the two households. However, the wife never benefits from any inheritance in her original family.

Having more than one wife is a common custom among the Hmong, but is usually a result of the levirate, which is the practice whereby a man's widow automatically becomes the wife of his brother. Wealthy men may be able to have several wives. One of them is considered the more important "big wife," and directs the activities of the other wives in the matter of household duties.

The patrilinear clan system of the Hmongs serves to solidify the marriage and at the same time uses marriage to integrate the clans. Good marital relationships are conducive to good clan relationships, which in turn are conducive to further marriages between the clans. The reciprocal element in the festivals, in the marriage feasts, and in finding marriage partners is a strong cohesive factor in inter-clan relationships. The patrilinear clan system must be considered most important to the solidarity of the Hmong social organization.

The Hmong are traditionally animistic.* They have numerous tlan or spirits which are classified according to their functions. These are the tlan of the water, of fertility, of the trail, of the hearth, of the sleeping quarters, of the rice field, for hunting, and numerous categories.

The txi neng or shaman can be male or female. He or she is accorded status by the Hmong on the basis of his or her relationship to the tlan. However, the txi neng can achieve status as well if he carries influence in the tlan world. This power enables the txi neng to cure the sick, determine the meaning of signs and dreams, give security to a new infant, predict the future through ordeals, and in general communicate between the living Hmong and the tlan world.

Individuals vary in their attitudes toward the tlan. Some appear to be deeply confident of the effectiveness of the varied observances. Others appear to hold to it because of tradition and hope it may do some good.

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*Christian missionaries were common in Laos from the early 20th Century. Many Hmong converted to Christianity while in Laos and others have become Christian since resettlement in the U.S.

D. WHY DID THE HMONG LEAVE LAOS?*

Yang Dao
Translated from French by Sylvianne Downing

The presence of the Hmong refugees in the United States raises many questions concerning the motivations which drove them to leave Laos in great numbers and choose the road of exile. Were they struck by some kind of fate which has pursued them since the beginning of time? Did they abandon their country because of a desire for adventure or because of the nomadic spirit that there has been a tendency to attribute to them? Did they flee their houses, their fields, and their villages to escape from misery and famine? No. The reasons are much deeper. Let us first briefly recall the traditional society of the Hmong.

The Hmong constituted, in Laos, a relatively homogeneous and important ethnic group. With a strength of 300,000 people, they made up one-tenth of the total population. They habitually chose the summits of the mountains to establish their homes; the land they occupied stretched over nine provinces in the north of the country.

The social organization of the Hmong is the reflection of a mentality which remains, across the ages, deeply impregnated with the concept of group, resting on the family and the clan. Accordingly, all the people who are descendants of the same ancestor live together, insofar as it is possible, and form a real community of interest that the girls alone will leave when they get married, to enter another similar community. If the family is of a somewhat flexible nature, the clan continues as a stable entity. In Laos there are more than 20 clans among the Hmong and all these clans are exogamous. Two people coming from the same clan, even separated by thousands of miles, cannot get married, being considered as brother and sister. Marriage, war, and migrations disperse the family, but the clan ties are permanent.

This is why, as poor as they may be, the Hmong feel a sense of security in the clan system and in the network of alliances formed through marriage which assure them of counsel, help, and support by integrating them into the great family of the Hmong. This social organization, founded on a millenium of solidarity, has been able through the centuries to help the Hmong people avoid juvenile delinquency, begging, and other social evils which ravage most of the underdeveloped countries and which burden many societies considered progressive. In France and in the United States, just as in Laos, a Hmong cannot live isolated without his or her morale being hurt, his or her life disrupted and his or her future affected. This explains the great mobility of Hmong refugees who everywhere are trying to regroup and who in this have continually astonished the welcoming countries.

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*Excerpted from an article of the same title in The Hmong in the West: Observations and Reports. Bruce T. Downing and Douglas P. Olney, ed. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1982.

The traditional Hmong economy is based essentially on the raising of crops and livestock. The majority of the Hmong used "slash and burn" agriculture techniques imposed by the mountainous topography. These consist of clearing an area of the forest which is later set on fire. The soil, cleared and fertilized by the ashes, is used to produce successive crops after which the cultivated area is abandoned for a certain period to allow time for the land to regenerate itself. Rice is the basis of the Hmong diet while corn is intended for feeding poultry, pigs, and horses. To these principal crops are added a wide variety of vegetables and plants.

If growing crops was the principal activity of the Hmong, raising livestock nevertheless occupied a very important place in their traditional economy. Each family owned 10 to 30 roosters, hens, and pullets, five to 10 pigs and often one or several horses for transportation. Many herds of steers and buffaloes roamed the grassy mountains of Hmong country.

This Hmong society, founded on a traditional solidarity and on an economy in transition, was deeply affected by 25 years of war. The bloody repressions and the great exodus abroad which followed the takeover of power in Vientiane in 1975 by the Pathet Lao only accelerated its dislocation, indeed its destruction. How did the Hmong of Laos get to where they are? To understand the cruel drama which presently affects this people of Laos, we must retrace the course of history.

The Hmong are one of the most ancient peoples in Asia. Their ancestors, they say, cultivated the plains of the Blue River and the Yellow River in China. There they expanded and became prosperous under the watchful care of the spirits of their ancestors.

One day, this peaceful people were invaded by hordes of conquerors coming from the north--the Han Chinese--who pillaged their cities and villages, massacred their wives and children and occupied by force their fertile lands. Thus began a bloody and deadly strife that for 4,000 years would pit the Hmong against their invaders. These invaders gave to the Hmong the appelation "Miao," which later became "Meo" and which means "barbarian"--an expression formerly used in Europe by the Romans to designate other peoples.

Defeated in the end by the troops of the Chinese Empire, the Hmong force disbanded around the middle of the 18th century. A great number of the survivors eventually faced humiliation, jail, and death. Thousands of families undertook their historic migration toward the mouth of the great rivers, continually moving through the mountains and constantly defending themselves in order to remain free men and women. Always following the ridgeline of the mountains, these families walked with a backpack, holding children by the hand and pushing their cattle and horses ahead of them, searching for an imagined Eldorado, unaware that they had just begun one of the longest adventures of human history.

In their thrust toward the south, the fugitive Hmong penetrated the north of French Indochina at the beginning of the 19th century. Their

arrival in Laos would date from 1810-1820. They thought they had found, in that "country of mountains and forests, lightly populated with men but rich with game," if not a haven of peace, at least the possibility of a life of dignity for themselves and their posterity. They were ready to enter into a peaceful coexistence with all the peoples who were already there, but they were also determined to resist any who would attack their freedom and their security or who would try to dislodge them from the region, now considered their property and the property of all the Laotian peoples who lived there.

When, following the Japanese coup de force of March 9, 1945, some French survivors took refuge in their mountains, the Hmong, without any thought for the consequences, went to the aid of these white fugitives. In keeping with their traditional hospitality, they welcomed them, nursed them, fed them, and hid them in caves so the Japanese patrols would not see them. The Hmong did not know that this action, which for them was strictly humanitarian, would provoke political consequences to the extent of bringing about the deaths of thousands of them and destroying the social and economic balance that they had attempted to preserve through the ages.

Immediately following the capitulation of Japan, the Viet Minh and the Pathet Lao took over the fight against the French presence in Indochina. At the beginning, the Hmong insisted on remaining neutral in this political and ideological conflict, which they considered foreign to them. But the Viet Minh and Pathet Lao agents began a program of eliminating those of the Hmong who had helped the French during the Japanese occupations; they arrested their relatives and displaced their families into regions under the control of their movements. In order to escape these reprisals, the Hmong naturally turned to those they thought could help them defend themselves: the French and the Royal Government of Laos. By force of circumstance, they found themselves engaged in the First War of Indochina.

After the departure of the French from Indochina in 1954, the Hmong of Laos continued to fight, under the Laotian flag, for their security and freedom and for the independence of their country. Urged by the king and the government to whom Washington had promised all its support and all its help, the Hmong rose up in mass, starting in 1961, to fight the Pathet Lao troops and the North Vietnamese army which was invading the northern provinces of the kingdom. For more than 10 years, the Hmong held fast against the North Vietnamese division, in fighting that produced tens of thousands of dead and wounded on both sides. "To abandon the fight," said the Hmong, "is to give our country to the North Vietnamese." This statement explains their tenacity during the fierce battles against the better equipped and more numerous North Vietnamese soldiers. In this "forgotten war" of Laos, the Hmong not only helped the Pentagon avoid sending a United States expeditionary force into the country as they did in South Vietnam, but they also participated in the rescue of many American pilots whose planes had been shot down by the North Vietnamese. From this it is easy to understand why Hanoi, Moscow, and their allies have accused the Hmong of being "mercenaries" of the CIA during the war and to understand also the policy of genocide that

they were going to enforce against the same Hmong after their "liberation" of Indochina.

On February 21, 1973, the Vientiane Accords were signed by the Royal Laotian Government and the Pathet Lao, calling for peace and national reconciliation. The Hmong, who through the agency of their political and military leaders contributed to the realization of these accords, brought their support to the government of national unity under the leadership of Prince Souvanna Phouma, and to the National Political Coalition Council presided over by Prince Souphanouvong. (I may remind you that Prince Souvanna Phouma represented the Laotian right and Prince Souphanouvong represented the left.) The Hmong believed that understanding was possible between Laotians, whether from the left or the right. Many of them, weary of 25 years of war, started to leave the army to return to civilian life. All the Hmong were prepared to follow the 18-point political program elaborated by the National Political Coalition Council and approved by the government of national unity, a program which aspired to "build a Laotian kingdom which would be peaceful, independent, neutral, democratic, unified and prosperous in conformity with the supreme interest of the fatherland and in order to satisfy the ardent yearnings of the Laotian people of all ethnic backgrounds and the august wishes of His Majesty the King." But, for the Communists, this political program was nothing more than their Trojan horse.

On April 17, 1975, Phnom Penh fell under the regime of the Khmer Rouge. On April 30, Saigon fell also to the North Vietnamese troops and tanks. In Vientiane, because of the presence of many foreign embassies which officially supported the new politic of "peace and national reconciliation" for Laos, the Pathet Lao employed a ruse. They organized "spontaneous" popular manifestations in the streets demanding the resignation of the ministers and the rightist generals. They prepared the way for a Communist military attack against the Long Cheng, the site of the headquarters of the Commandant of the Second Military Region, the Hmong General Vang Pao, whom they considered their number one enemy. This was done by creating in the country an atmosphere of generalized hatred against the "Meo mercenaries" and by provoking military incidents in Sala Phoukhoune, southwest of the Plain of Jars, on the line of demarcation which separated the zone controlled by the right from that of the left.

At the beginning, the great majority of the Hmong did not want to leave Laos, the country that they had so fiercely defended and for which they had shed so much blood. Peasants, merchants, civil servants, and soldiers without much past responsibility, they thought that they would be treated with leniency by the new masters of the country or, even better, they hoped to be able to benefit from a general amnesty.

Pathet Lao soldiers started to infiltrate progressively into their villages. Very politely, one who seemed to be the leader would ask each Hmong family to shelter, by turns, two of their comrades who "only wanted to serve you." But the Hmong soon realized that the two Pathet Lao placed in their family had as their sole mission to watch them night

and day. They could go nowhere without being accompanied by the two "guardian angels" who claimed to be assuring their safety against "the terrorist activities of the rightist reactionaries." Soon the husband did not dare talk to his wife, nor the parents to their children. The two Pathet Lao were listening to every word and spying on every move. Nobody could trust anybody. From time to time, the people would be awakened in the middle of the night and the houses searched under the pretense that a "reactionary" was hiding there. Then the husband or the son was led away, a gun against his back, to an unknown destination. All, young and old, men and women, lived under the fear of being summoned, at any time, for weeks or even months of forced labor (e.g., transportation of ammunition and rice) far from their family residence, or for "seminars" (classes of political re-education), which are in actuality forced labor camps from which no one ever returns. The strain had become such that both men and women would crack. Moreover, assassinations multiplied in the Hmong mountains. People were killed in their homes and on the way to the fields. Sometimes a whole family would disappear.

A great number of soldiers, village heads, district leaders, civil servants, administrators, teachers, professors, merchants, and Hmong peasants were condemned to hard labor for having "collaborated" with the old regime, for having "propagated capitalistic and reactionary ideas," for having "exploited the people" or for having been "in collusion" with the Americans.

In April 1975, when a delegation of the National Political Coalition Council, of which I was a member, was in East Berlin, one of the vice-presidents of the National Assembly of the German Democratic Republic pointed his finger at me and said, his eyes on fire: "It is because of these damned Meo that communism took so long to come into being in Laos." To these spiteful words I answered calmly but firmly at an official banquet attended by high officials of the country:

> Our delegation did not come to Berlin, at the invitation of the National Assembly of the German Democratic Republic, to evoke what happened in the past, for which the real responsible parties are the Great Powers, but to show the new face of a reconciled and unified Laos, and to carry its message of peace and cooperation between all nations.

At first I did not realize that a plan of extermination, carefully set in place by Moscow and its allies, was about to be put in motion against the Hmong of Laos. On May 9, 1975, returning from my trip to the Communist countries of Asia and Europe, I received confirmation through the Khaosane Pathet Lao, the Pravda of the Laotian Communist Party, which wrote: "We must eradicate the Meo minority completely." To suit their actions to their words, the Pathet Lao fired on a crowd of men, women, and children, estimated at about 40,000 persons, who had participated in the great peaceful march on Vientiane on May 29, 1975, in order to ask for guarantees of their security from the Prime Minister, Prince Souvanna Phouma, leader of the National Unity Government. The massacre

killed between 120 and 140 people, of which some 20 died on the spot. Of the fate of these Hmong, the Prince could only say to a foreign diplomat serving in the Laotian capital: "The Meo have served me well. It is unfortunate that the price of peace in Laos is their disappearance." The Hmong understood that the only choice left to them was exile or resistance.

The first to take part in the historic exodus were the members of the General Vang Pao's family, the officers who had served in his headquarters, the governors of the Lao provinces, Hmong and Khmus of Houa Phanh and Xieng Khouang who had closely collaborated with him, civil servants who had served in these two provinces, and the numerous members of their families. For a week, two DC 46s of the Air Force and two liaison planes, a Cessna and a Barol, based at Long Cheng, made repeated trips between the base and the base at Udorn in the northeast of Thailand. During the last days of the emergency evacuation, large American cargo planes, C 123s and C 130s also helped in the operation. The process ended abruptly on May 14, 1975, with the departure of General Vang Pao.

Very rapidly, like a trail of gunpowder and fire, the news of General Vang Pao's departure became known to all the Hmong. Everywhere, on all the mountains, the families were consulting together in secret. One fine morning the men left for the fields and did not come back. They had gone to hide in the forest where later their wives and children would join them. Afterward, several families would decide to meet, one evening, on a certain mountain. And thus begins a long adventure strewn with death and hope.

For days and nights, weeks and months, those families would walk. Carrying their meager bundles on their backs, they followed tiger and elephant trails, going always deeper into the great forest, in order to avoid meeting others persons who, in those circumstances, could turn out to be more dangerous, more ferocious than the most terrible of wild beasts. In the course of their flight they were often attacked by Pathet Lao patrols lying in ambush for them. They did not have time to bury their dead, left to rot where they fell, nor to save their wounded, who could be finished off in most cases by an enemy who did not want to be burdened with them. Those who made their way to the Mekong crossed the river with the aid of a few bamboo stalks fastened carefully together, which they placed under their armpits to help them float. Only a third of their number succeeded in reaching Thailand, in pitiful condition. Some turned back, following the Communist attacks, and rejoined the resistance. The rest either were killed in ambushes, drowned during the crossing of the Mekong, were taken prisoner by the Pathet Lao, or simply died of hunger and fatigue.

At the present time more than 100,000 Hmong have found refuge abroad. This number amounts to about one-tenth of the total population of Laos or one-third of the Hmong born in Laos. The refugee camps in Thailand still shelter more than 60,000 Hmong. Forty to fifty thousand of them have settled in the United States, 6,000 to 8,000 in France, 500 in Australia, 200 in Canada, and about 100 in Argentina. At last the

People's Republic of China has also begun to welcome a certain number of them.

Are the Hmong a people on the road to extinction? It would be difficult to affirm this. They have survived the vicissitudes of history and have retained, through the ages, their own identity. Dispersed once again all over the world, they feel today more solidarity than ever among themselves. Moreover, supported always by friends, they again have confidence in the future. Deeply rooted in their traditional culture and determined to move in the direction of innovation and progress, they mean to preserve their own personality while trying continually to better integrate themselves into a welcoming society such as yours. Traveling through the United States in 1977 and in 1980, I was able to observe the progress already registered by the Hmong refugees. Today an ever greater number of them speak English and are employed. Others are still taking classes, in the school or at university. If tomorrow the hope of returning to Laos should vanish from their dreams, at least they will be good American citizens, useful and ever grateful.

St. Paul, October 1, 1981

Dr. Yang Dao, University of Minnesota.

E. DIFFERENCES AND SIMILARITIES BETWEEN THE HMONG HIGHLANDERS AND LAO LOWLANDERS*

Adapted from Tipawan Truong-Quang Reed
Illinois Office of Education
July 1978

CHARACTERISTICS	HMONG	LAO
Ethnic Identification & Location	The Hmong are found not only in Northern Laos, but also in the Southern provinces of China, Northern Vietnam and Thailand. The Hmong of Laos were concentrated in Xieng Khouang province. The total Hmong population of Laos was estimated at between 300,000 to 500,000 in 1971.	The Lao, numbering over 1.5 million, are linguistically and culturally most closely related to the Northeastern Thai.
Linguistic Affiliation	The Hmong language is classified as a separate branch of Sino-Tibetan. It is monosyllabic and tonal (7 tones). While differences exist in the word order and phonemes, the syntax is similar to that of Chinese. The written langauge has only recently been developed through missionary efforts.	The Lao language is classified under the Tai branch. It is predominantly monosyllabic and tonal (6 tones). The written form is derived from the same sources as the Thai language, Pali-Sanskrit.
Settlement Pattern	The Hmong occupy the mountainous regions of Laos at an altitude of between 3,000 feet to 6,000 feet.	The Lao settle along the Mekong River and the alluvial plains of its tributaries.
Economy	The Hmong of Laos are mainly slash-and-burn cultivators, although some have adopted wet-rice agriculture. Until 1971, when the cultivation of opium was declared illegal, opium had been the major cash crop for the Hmong. Raising of livestock, such as pigs, poultry and goats, is essential to their economy. The Hmong are celebrated horse breeders and trainers. They are also active traders.	The Lao lowlanders are predominantly wet-rice agriculturalists. Like the Hmong, they raise livestock, cultivate minor cash crops and grow vegetables.

* Adopted from The Hmong Higlanders and the Lao Lowlanders. Tipawan Truong-Quang Reed and Tou Fu Vang. Illinois Office of Education, July 1978.

CHARACTERISTICS	HMONG	LAO
Division of Labor	Men prepare the field, care for the crops and raise the livestock. At harvest time every member of the family participates. Women are more active than men in the production of opium. Women are responsible for domestic chores. When not engaging in cultivating their farms, the men derive additional income through hunting and trading.	Similarly, the Lao men do most of the heavy work in the preparation of the paddy fields. At harvest time, every able-bodied member participates. Like the Hmong men, the Lao men fish and hunt while the women tend to domestic tasks. The Lao women often engage in trade and manage the financial affairs of the household. It should be noted that in may cases the division of labor is not clearly defined, since Lao men and women share many tasks.
Family	The household (an extended family based on a patrilineal clan system) is the most significant unit in the Hmong culture. One household may house as many as 35 people under the same roof.	The basic unit of the Lao society, like the Hmong, is the household, which consists of the nuclear family. The extended family is, however, not uncommon.
Child Rearing	The child is cared for by members of the household. Children are nursed as long as the mother has milk. Weaning, then, is not a traumatic experience for the Hmong child. There seems to be little toilet training. The Hmong children learn to share responsibility at an early age.	Like the Hmong, the Lao child is cared for by the mother, father, and the siblings. There is a lack of overt guidance by the parents to acquire any skills. Parental permissiveness continues throughout childhood. The Lao child, in contrast to the Hmong child, is not pushed to perform household and farm tasks or accept any responsibility.
Descent	The Hmong trace descent patrilineally.	The Lao, unlike the Hmong, distinguish relatives bilaterally.
Social Structure	The Hmong village consists of extended households based on the patrilineal clan. The number of households ranges from 8 to 40. The number of clans within one village, on the other, varies from one to	After the household, the most significant social unit is the village. Lao village inhabitants are often related to one another by blood or marriage. The Lao headman holds limited power

CHARACTERISTICS	HMONG	LAO
	four. The Hmong headman, usually the eldest head of a clan, commands great respect and authority from those under him. Besides the headman, the txi neng or "shaman" (male or female) play an essential role in the supernatural realm.	and influence. His authority and influence are measured by the amount of wealth he possesses. Other significant figures in the Lao village are the Buddhist monk, the Mo phi or "shaman" (generally a male) and the village teacher.
Religion	The majority of Hmong are animists with a strong cult of ancestral worship. They have an elaborate pantheon of tlan "spirits-deities." Related to the tradition of kingship, the Hmong believe that one day a Hmong king will arise as a liberator and lead the Hmong against their oppressors. However, half of the Hmong who came to the U.S. are Christians through the Missionary Alliance Denomination.	Although Theravada Buddhists, the Lao also belive in "spirits" phi. Young men are encouraged to enter a Buddhist monastary for at least three months.

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F. Language

Many distinctly different languages are spoken by the people of Laos. The Lao language is the country's official language and is spoken by the ethnic Lao majority. Lao is in the Tai language family and uses its own script, not the Roman script used for English. The Hmong language is the first language of the Hmong people. It is in the Sino-Tibetan language family and can be divided into two mutually intelligible dialects: White Hmong and Blue/Green Hmong. Until recently Hmong was not a written language. French missionaries did devise a written system for Hmong using the Roman alphabet but it is not widely used by the Hmong people.

Both Lao and Hmong are tonal language, the former using six tones in common speech and the latter seven tones. This means that the same syllable pronounced with six or seven different pitches may have six or seven different meanings. Written Lao has 32 consonants and 28 vowels, some of which have the same sound but different pitches. Spoken White Hmong has 32 consonants and 13 vowel sounds in addition to its seven tones. Word order, grammatical structures, and the conceptualization of ideas and relationships are different in Lao and in Hmong from English. The list on the next page gives some of the basic differences between Hmong, Lao and English; for more detailed linguistic information, we recommend the Center for Applied Linguistics' publications on the Hmong and Lao languages.

Several more points should be kept in mind when considering Laotian students' language backgrounds and learning strategies. In addition to Lao and Hmong, many other languages are spoken in Laos. These include other ethnic minority languages, French, English, Thai, and Chinese. It is common for a Laotian to speak two or more languages as a result of education, trade and/or employment experiences. However, this multilingualism does not necessarily include literary skills. The majority of Laotians had little if any formal schooling, particularly females and the older generations. Those who did attend school studied Lao in elementary school and French in upper school. Each of the common spoken languages has significantly different scripts. Thus, even educated Hmong may not be literate in their native language.

Nou Tou Yang and two Hmong aides are writing a Hmong/English math dictionary.

G. Some Major Differences Between Indochinese Languages and English*

1. In Lao, many consonant sounds, e.g., -b,-d,-f,-g,-dj,-l,-r,-s,-v,-ks,and-z may not occur in final position. Even when the consonants p,t and k do occur in final position, they are often unaspirated and, therefore, barely audible to the American ear. Consonant cluster (blend) sounds do not occur in the final position; e.g., in words such as act, church, third, wealth, fist, six.

2. Excepting the ng sound, the Hmong language has no consonant sounds occurring in final position.

3. Verbs do not change form; e.g., eat (eats), ate, eaten, eating.

4. No articles occur; e.g., a, an, and the.

5. Plural endings on nouns do not occur; e.g., two persons.

6. Possessive endings do not occur; e.g., John's book.

7. No common usage of prefixes or suffixes occurs; e.g., unfold or happiness.

8. No infinitives occur; e.g., to hear.

9. No distinction is made betwen subjective, objective, and possessive pronouns; e.g., I, me, and my. The same word is used for all three cases; e.g., "I go," "They like I" and "Book of I."

10. Word order may be different; modifiers and classifiers may follow the words they modify; e.g., "I have bread white three loaves" or I have three loaves bread white."

11. Predicate adjectives do not require the use of the verb "to be"; e.g., "The house is beautiful" translates as "house beautiful."

12. No subject - auxiliary verb inversion occurs in negative statements; e.g., "Bill does not know" translates as "Bill not know."

13. Negative interrogative statements are confusing; e.g., "Don't you like it?" might be answered "Yes, I don't like it."

14. No subject - auxiliary verb inversion occurs in interrogative statements; e.g., "Does Jim work here?" translates as "Jim work here + a question particle."

In highlighting some of the primary differences between Indochinese languages and English, the major sources of difficulty for Indochinese refugees learning to speak English become immediately apparent.

*From Languages of Indochinese Refugees by Porter Reed, Illinois State Board of Education

H. Names and Forms of Address

The naming system used by Indochinese are different from those used by Americans. In Hmong, Chinese, Cambodian, and Vietnamese, the clan or family name usually comes first, followed by the given names(s). Only Lao is similar to English in name order, with given name preceding the family name.

The clan names Yang, Vang, and Xiong comprise the majority of the Hmong. The Lao have a large number of family names.

In addressing people, both Hmong and Lao use the given name, often preceded by a diminutive kinship term, honorific, or title. For example, in Lao, Bounphet Sivongsa would be addressed as Mr. Bounphet (given name), not as Mr. Sivongsa (family name).

In Hmong, diminutives are frequently used for children - Tou for boys and Mai for girls. Vang Bee thus becomes Vang Tou Bee and Yang Doua becomes Yang Mai Doua. The boy would be called Tou Bee and the girl Mai Doua.

When a Hmong man starts a family, he is often given an honorary name such as Boua. Thus, Her Song becomes Her Boua Song.

When a Hmong women marries she keeps her own clan name. Children use their father's clan name. It is therefore common for family members of the same household to use different clan names.

Examples:

Hmong	Indicator	Given Name	Clan Name	Becomes
	Tou	Bee	Vang	Vang Tou Bee
	Mai	Doua	Yang	Yang Mai Doua
	Boua	Song	Her	Her Boua Song
Lao		Bounphet	Sivongsa	Bounphet Sivongsa
		Khamsing	Dittavong	Khamsing Dittavong

It is important to note that some Hmong have started to use American customs in name order and forms of address. They now use their clan name as a last name, so Vang Tou Bee becomes Tou Bee Vang and he would respond to Mr. Vang as well as to Mr. Bee. In addition, some women have added their husband's clan name as a last name to their own names. These changes have caused schools difficulty in recordkeeping.

III. EDUCATION AND LAOTIAN STUDENTS

A. Educational Backgrounds of Laotian Students

The Laotian school system was designed according to the French system. Elementary school was divided into a lower unit of grades one to three and an upper unit of grades four to six. Lower secondary school included grades seven to ten, and upper secondary school grades 11 to 12, followed by a baccalaureate exam and then grade 13. Language of instruction was Lao in elementary schools, French in the secondary schools. In order to continue from one level unit to the next, students had to pass highly competitive exams. Few students ever entered lower secondary school, and only an elite minority completed secondary school and continued for their higher education in Laos or France.

The atmosphere within classrooms differed from the American classroom. Classes were overcrowded with up to 60 students per room. Rural schools seldom had adequate classroom supplies for textbooks. Discipline was strict, obedience of teachers the norm, and rote memorization and recitation the usual methods of instruction (Saythongphet and Murphy).

Until the 1960s, government schools were located in urban areas only. Therefore, rural Lao adult literacy rates have been very low. During the 1960s and 1970s lower elementary schools were constructed in rural areas as well. However, because rural children had to move into the towns to continue their studies, few enrolled beyond the lower grades (Indochinese Information Packet).

In Hmong mountain villages even fewer schools existed; children learned needed skills and oral history from village elders. Where school was available, Lao was the language of instruction, so a Hmong child's first task was to learn a new language. Those families who could afford to do so, had the option to send their sons from the mountains to town public and missionary schools. Because single girls were rarely allowed to leave home for extended periods of time, few girls received any formal education beyond what was available in their home village. Thus, even more than for the Lao, educational opportunities were extremely limited and favored the recent generation of boys. (The Hmong Language: Sounds and Alphabets.)

Educational opportunities in refugee camps have been haphazard, though efforts have been made to provide all children with some exposure to formal schooling. Facilities vary from one camp to the next. Classes are conducted in Hmong, Lao, Thai, English, and French depending on who is available to teach and who is funding the classes. A child who has been in the camps for several years will not have had a steady progression in skills or subject matter.

The inaccessibility of formal education are indicated by the following statistics from a recent survey of Hmong over the age of 12 now living in Minneapolis (SARS Project, 1983):

School in Laos		Hmong Language Literacy	
0 years	68.0%	Yes	50.6%
1-3	11.9	No	49.4%
4-6	13.1	Lao Language Literacy	
7+	7.0	Yes	36.8%
		No	63.2%

The amount and quality of formal education will vary from person to person. Adults and young women have had the most limited access to schooling. Whereas incentives for formal education may have been few in the past, Hmong now value literacy skills for the ability they provide to communicate with relatives and friends scattered in distant countries.

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B. Indochinese Bilingual Education Program Models: St. Paul, Sheboygan and Madison

The three school districts featured in the videotapes "Fitting In" and "Pain and Promise"--St. Paul, Sheboygan, and Madison--have all been cited for their exemplary bilingual education programs. A commitment to several goals is shared by these districts: 1) identification and employment of particularly sensitive American and Asian bilingual instructional staff; 2) creation of school environments that respect multiculturalism and encourage sharing; and 3) coordination of L.E.P. and mainstreaming curricula.

One of the most difficult tasks the districts faced was finding bilingual staff. School personnel worked closely with Indochinese community agencies to locate individuals living elsewhere in the country and recruit them to be teachers and aides in the classroom. While the emphasis was on English instruction, whenever possible the districts provided bilingual staff to work with ESL teachers to facilitate acquisition of new concepts and support cultural pride and self-confidence. Meanwhile the students developed English proficiency and were prepared for mainstream classrooms.

Emphasis is placed on multicultural education. Administrators draw on supportive staff and principals, and include multicultural activities within the classrooms and in school calendars. Cultural sharing among the students is intended to create a school environment in which mutual respect assists the Southeast Asians in their social adjustments.

Coordination of curricula within and between grade levels, and the development of bilingual materials for this purpose, has had to vary from one district to the next. Each school district must respond to the influx of Indochinese students differently. Factors which have contributed to development of LEP programs include the number of Indochinese who have entered the district, the timing of their arrival, their age distribution, the diversity of language groups represented, and the district's previous experience with LEP programs.

From 1979 to the present, St. Paul has experienced a rapid influx of Indochinese students into its school system. Approximately 3000 refugee children are now enrolled in the district's schools; most of these children are Hmong and Cambodian. Serving this special student population in a large urban system has raised issues of desegregation, record-keeping, inter-school cooperation and curriculum coordination, and public and private agencies' cooperation.

In Wisconsin, the two school systems in the videotape have similar numbers of students but one has an ethnically homogeneous population and the other heterogeneous. The Sheboygan, Wisconsin school system has enrolled about 240 Indochinese students, almost all of whom have been Hmong. With over 70 of these students concentrated at South High School, the LEP program has been able to focus on problems specific to

Hmong teenagers. In contrast, Madison's West High School, though serving a similar number of refugee children, has a linguistically heterogeneous group. The bilingual education program has had to be developed for a diverse LEP student body being mainstreamed in a highly academic school.

1. The St. Paul School District Elementary Model

Southeast Asian students began enrolling in the St. Paul School District in significant numbers starting in 1977, and presently there are more than 3000 in the district. About one in every ten students comes from Southeast Asia, and the majority of them are Hmong from Laos. The district did not know how many Hmong would settle in St. Paul, but began program planning to meet their needs and tried to find funding. District administrators spent much time trying to obtain both federal and local resources to meet the challenge of the continuing influx. Pre-school programs were started in cooperation with Ramsey County, and all federal resources that were applicable were utilized to provide services. From the beginning, the district cooperated with state efforts, with the help of private foundations such as the St. Paul Foundation, with groups providing volunteers such as 3M Company and the National Council of Jewish Women which not only provided tutors but developed a manual for volunteers that was used by several schools.

Because the district was undergoing race desegregation at the time of the initial influx, administrators decided to establish ESL (English as a Second Language) centers and place them throughout the city. Some of the schools chosen were also experiencing declining enrollments, so there was space available. Administrators believe that the decision to scatter the ESL Centers has influenced housing patterns and furthered desegregation in the district.

The Highland Park Elementary School, which is featured in the videotape "Fitting In," was one of the first ESL Centers established. Students were bussed from their neighborhoods to this building which had excellent facilities available due to declining enrollment. As more and more Hmong came to St. Paul, they filled the halls of Highland Park, anxious to enroll their children, most of whom had never been in school before. At the time of enrollment, a brief language assessment checklist was conducted to determine the child's educational background in his or her home country, refugee camps, or previous U.S. schools. The assessment covered listening, speaking, reading, and math skills.

At the present time, all new elementary students to the St. Paul District who are limited English proficiency must come to Highland Park for the language assessment procedure. Some remain at this school for intact ESL classes and are later mainstreamed within the school before being transferred to their home schools. Several district schools provide ESL classes and support staff.

Transition to mainstream classes occurs gradually within the school, usually beginning with art, music, math and spelling. Students are not usually able to do reading work with the mainstream students. Mainstream teachers assign student helpers to assist newcomers and develop a climate of respect in the classroom. Students are encouraged to use English as the only language of communication. There is a great deal of cooperation between the ESL and mainstream teachers.

After a period of time, which varies from a few months to a year, students are fully mainstreamed into classrooms at Highland Park or are transferred to their neighborhood schools. The exit criteria include the teachers' recommendations, a final language assessment, and completion of a checklist of topics covered in class. Students are not expected to speak English perfectly nor to be at grade level before they are sent to home schools. The school district believes it is most important to mainstream them quickly even though there is recognition that some initial adjustment problems occur.

According to Dr. Erma E. McGuire, Assistant Superintendent for Instruction, implementation of this model has required considerable administrative, teaching staff and community cooperation. Seven key factors have been: 1) Inservice programs to prepare principals and teachers for the new student population were run by the district; 2) The elementary school teachers, who through their teacher training have a wide repertoire of skills, devised individualized instruction programs; 3) Bilingual staff and teachers were located and hired from all over the country; 4) Curriculum materials were developed in reading and math; 5) The community is involved through information sessions, community agencies, and volunteer work in the schools; 6) Because of the similarity of many of the students' names and the families frequent changes of address, a computerized record-keeping system had to be designed to provide information to TESOL Centers and home schools; 7) With 25-30 buildings involved around the district, coordination and continuity between TESOL Centers and home schools has been of major concern and has been addressed through inservice efforts.

2. The Sheboygan School District Program

The Sheboygan School District has established five ESL Centers for language training preliminary to enrollment in neighborhood mainstream programs: three at the elementary school level, one at the middle school and one high school. Students with little or no English language proficiency enter the ESL Centers. As they learn speaking, reading, and writing skills, they join mainstream classes within the ESL Center. Students are transferred to neighborhood schools when they demonstrate they can manage satisfactorily in all-English language classrooms with the occasional help of a traveling ESL resource teacher. The district runs a summer program for the Hmong children aimed at maintaining English skills learned during the school year and helping them in the transition to full main-

streaming. The summer school program last year served 158 Hmong students.

Feedback from the Hmong community and Sheboygan teaching staff was used to design and revised school programs for the students. The programs concentrate on:

a) pre-school with emphasis on 3 and 4 year olds,
b) parent training to facilitate parent-teacher communication,
c) development of conceptual vocabulary bilingual materials, and
d) cultural training for staff.

The high school ESL Center is located in South High School. The program has been devised to help Hmong students meet district graduation and competency requirements. Students with minimal English language skills enter the ESL program. As their language skills improve, they are moved into transitional classes which build from basic to complex skills and language. These transitional classes are coordinated with the mainstream curriculum in such a way that students learn the same basic area skills and concepts as their mainstream peers. Transitional classes are team taught by an ESL teacher/bilingual aide and a subject area teacher in math, social studies, language arts, science, home economics, and industrial education. Students generally remain in this concept-based, transitional curriculum for two to three years before being fully mainstreamed. The high school student receives additional support through a bilingual tutorial service. As part of the "Project Teach," a Hmong-English bilingual concept dictionary is being developed, now for math and later for social studies. The dictionary includes illustrated vocabulary flash cards in English and Hmong-English bilingual editions and Hmong language explanatory tapes. The monolingual materials are designed for use by low English proficiency students and for their ESL teachers, bilingual aides, and mainstream teachers. The bilingual cards will extend use of the materials to those learning subject matter concepts primarily in Hmong. The tapes can be used in groups, as well as at home by illiterate parents and relatives, thereby strengthening school-community interactions.

3. The Madison School District Program

In Madison, the Indochinese have settled in concentrated housing patterns. The school district has therefore located bilingual staff in the neighborhood elementary and middle schools which serve these residential areas. At the high school level, an ESL program was in operation before the arrival of large numbers of Indochinese refugees in 1980. However, because of the special educational needs of the refugee children, funds were applied for and received from the Department of Education's Title VII Bilingual Education Act to establish a central ESL program designed specifically for the Indochinese. This program began at West High School in the fall of 1980; it is open but not mandatory for all LEP Indochinese students in any of Madison's four high school areas.

The ESL curriculum at West provides two hours of language instruction (one hour of reading and one of grammar), one hour of bilingual math, one of science, and one of social studies. The students are immediately mainstreamed in physical education, and eventually in typing, and industrial arts classes. In all, sixteen ESL and bilingual courses have been offered at a variety of skills levels to suit the students' needs. These classes are taught by ESL teachers and Vietnamese and Hmong bilingual staff. As in St. Paul and Sheboygan, classes are arranged according to skill level and not by age.

From the ESL program, students go directly into West's mainstream classes. Bilingual staff provide individualized support to mainstream teachers and to students to supplement the help available from the writing lab and the school's counselors.

As discussed by West's Title VII coordinator, Jack Siebert in the videotape "Pain and Promise," the ESL curriculum established at West has helped Indochinese students learn English and simultaneously upgrade their overall knowledge of subject areas, although it has lacked adequate resources in vocational education. West High School is a highly academically oriented school, such that even the vocational education courses offered are based on material too difficult for the Indochinese students, many of whom are reading at a 2nd-4th grade level. With 30 or more students in a class, the vocational education instructors are unable to provide for the special needs of the refugee students. Therefore, West applied for, and has just received, funding to begin a vocational education program in ESL for the 1983-84 school year. The basic goal of the project is to provide vocational courses that will prepare ESL students in areas where jobs are available to people with a limited amount of training and job experience. The project has been designed in cooperation with the Madison Area Technical College, which will provide students with summer mini-courses during their high school years and with more advanced training courses following graduation. West High School's new vocational education ESL program offers Industrial Education, Business Education, Home Economics, and Marketing and Distribution.

C. Two Hmong Perspectives on Education

The following two pieces have been provided by Hmong leaders now living in Minneapolis-St. Paul. Yang Dao the first Ph.D. among the Hmong, received his doctorate in France. His dissertation, "Les Hmongs Du Laos Face Au Developement," is considered the authoritative work on recent history of the Laotian Hmong. Yang Dao served in the Government of National Unity in Laos from 1972-75, and since then has helped Hmong refugees in France and the U.S. Vang Chia was the principal of an elementary school in Laos. He is now a student at the University of Minnesota.

Both men stress the importance of education to the resettlement of Hmong youth. For schools to successfully work with these children, they advocate better communication between Laotian parents and American teachers.

1. Education and Hmong Youth--Yang Dao

Since 1975, approximately 60,000 Hmong have come to the United States as refugees. It is estimated that 50% are children and young adults from five to 25 years old. How will these children and youths live in the future? Their future depends to a great extent on what we are able to do for them today. In this regard, education plays an essential role.

How can the American schools help the Hmong children and youth? They can provide them with an educational environment that creates among them a feeling of brotherhood where whites, blacks, Hispanics, and Hmong will learn to know each other better, to appreciate each other more and to increasingly help one another. Such a climate of mutual respect will certainly contribute to the morale of the Hmong students and help them to study more successfully.

In addition, it is essential for the teachers to understand their Hmong students. They must be very patient in dealing with them. If the young Hmong have difficulties, it is, in general, because they do not understand English well. For this reason, I believe it is indispensable to adapt programs of ESL (English as a Second Language) to the needs of the Hmong children. This is necessary in order to help them as efficiently as possible to rapidly improve their English, which is the key to success in all their studies.

However, teaching the Hmong children to read, write, and speak English is not enough to guarantee them a happy life. It will also be valuable to devote at least an hour per week to teaching them the language, culture, and traditions of the Hmong, so that the Hmong youth are not completely cut off from their roots. They need to know where they come from and to what culture they belong. Just as a tree torn from its roots and replanted cannot survive, so the child cannot truly blossom without the ability to relate to its sources, to its origin. The teaching of the language and culture of the Hmong in the schools can be beneficial not only to the Hmong children but also to the American youth and to the entire nation.

But the schools, by themselves, cannot provide everything necessary for the child's education without the participation of the family. What then can the parents do to help their children succeed in their studies? First they must make sure that their children, on returning from school, study their lessons -that they do their homework. The parents must see to it that the children do not spend the evening in front of the television set. I have noticed that in the evening many Hmong children, in America and in France as well, watch TV programs until they are physically worn out before deciding to go to bed. And the next day, after school, the same compulsive attach-

ment to TV begins all over again. Under these conditions the children can never pursue their studies with full success. Furthermore, the parents need to make sure that there will not be noise or the crying of children in the house, if they want their elementary or high school students to study seriously at home.

Finally, when meetings are organized by the schools, to which the parents are invited, it is important that the Hmong attend. If they do not understand English, there should be an interpretor who can speak both Hmong and English. In this way the parents can follow the educational progress of their children and understand the system of education and the educational innovations that may be utilized. The participation of the parents in these school meetings will permit them to express their opinions and their ideas which may be helpful for the school, the teachers, and the students. If true cooperation exists between the schools and the Hmong families, this will certainly help the Hmong children to be challenged more and to progress more quickly in their studies.

Who will be the beneficiaries of all this? First, as far as the United States is concerned, it is clear that today the Hmong children cannot make any contribution to American society, but tomorrow they will be important intellectually, numerically, economically, and politically. That is why, if they can be helped immediately, they can in the future participate effectively in the development of the country and avoid becoming a burden on the State.

This will also be beneficial to the family. The well educated Hmong child will be forever grateful to his or her parents. And he or she can help them to better understand life in the United States and to face the future with confidence. In short, the young people will help their families to improve their conditions of life in the adoptive country.

2. Excerpts from Interviews with Vang Chia, Minnesota

I have seven children - two daughters and five sons. All of my children go to school. They learn very well in this country because I help their teachers and their teachers help them. This makes the children enjoy school. They study harder than I do. It is important at home for parents to encourage their children to study.

Schools must be in close contact with refugee children's parents so their children will make the most of school. But many of these parents have not had education. Because they are unfamiliar with formal education, we must explain its importance to them so they can help their children prepare for the future. In order for parents to learn how to encourage their children to study hard, to make them understand and progress in the classes, weekend workshops should be held for parents.

One of the problems I see is that many high school students disappear after graduation. To resolve this requires close contact

with parents and children. Both must understand the importance of education for their futures. Part of the problem is that they do not understand their teachers or each other. They speak different languages. Sometimes students are afraid to take their problems to their teachers. They do not ever go to their appointments. And with too little communication between parents and teachers, the students can easily conceal school problems from their parents.

Mali and her parents,
St. Paul, Minnesota.

D. Problems and Solutions from the Student Perspective

Classroom experiences have shown that various educational problems have arisen as a result of Laotian children's cultural, educational, and refugee backgrounds. The following discussion summarizes the more common adjustment issues raised by students, teachers, and parents in Madison, Sheboygan, and St. Paul, and their responses to the problems. Additional information is drawn from a study released in 1980 by the California Department of Social Services, The Assimilation and Acculturation of Indochinese Children into American Culture, one of the few studies about these issues. In reading the following, it is important to keep in mind that each child's unique combination of experiences results in a different adjustment to school. The general discussion provided here is only intended as background for considering individual student responses.

The California study found that Indochinese students make a slow transition to American culture because of their limited schooling in Asia, long camp stays, poor physical condition, family socio-economic backgrounds, and psychological traumas since 1975. Unaccompanied minors have an even more difficult time because they must make the transition without family support. The survey identified three areas as most critical in possible cultural conflict for Indochinese students: language, differences in learning styles, and differences in social relationships. These areas have been highlighted frequently by students and teachers in Wisconsin and Minnesota.

Significant differences exist between English and all the Indochinese languages. Those literate in Lao or Khmer must learn a new alphabet. For young children, learning a new language is easier than for their older siblings. As can be seen in the videotape "Fitting In," language learning in St. Paul schools is coupled with songs, finger games and physical activities which help make it an enjoyable activity. However, for the older students the language barrier becomes even more critical as it inhibits their ability to keep up with complex grade level subject materials. Following instructions, understanding lectures and taking notes were cited as sources of constant frustration in Madison and Sheboygan. Both volunteer and bilingual tutorial programs and gradual mainstreaming are used in all three districts. Sheboygan's transitional program which emphasizes the acquisition of concepts and skills coordinated with the mainstream classes and with the aid of bilingual staff has been a particular boon to LEP students. In addition, projects such as Sheboygan's bilingual math concept dictionary help both bilingual and non-bilingual staff and students.

High school students in Madison complained of unfamiliarity with the school system. Class schedules, movement between classes, and class requirements differed from those in Asia. Learning strategies have to be changed as the Asian emphasis on drills and memorization is replaced by question-and-answer and discussion. In Asian cultures the respect demanded of one's elders meant that teachers were not questioned by students; yet American teachers expect students to raise questions. Classroom behavior in general differs since most classrooms in Laos

separated boys and girls but did not separate students strictly by age as do American schools. According to Laotian students in Wisconsin and Minnesota, student-student interactions in American schools are as foreign to them as are the informal student-teacher interactions. Separate ESL classes minimize contact with American students. Many of the Laotians have experienced trouble with stereotyping and prejudice.

In an ESL class discussion led by Ann Niedermeier of Madison's West High School, students offered a variety of suggestions for handling these problems. Their ideas focused on the value of peer interactions to ease new students into the unfamiliar school setting. Fellow students can help new students "learn the ropes" of the school: schedule patterns, movement between classes, location of school facilities, and the use of library and cafeteria. They can introduce students to other friends, and, through their own example, encourage new students to ask questions and open up in the classroom. Student sports, music, or international clubs can provide opportunity for social activities with minimal language pressures between American and Asian students. Teachers could stimulate such interactions by establishing a student buddy system--a method successfully employed in St. Paul elementary schools. Another activity which has promoted student-student understanding in all three districts is school-sponsored cultural programs and performances. In Sheboygan, the American students held a rummage sale to raise funds for a Chicago field trip for their Hmong peers. In St. Paul's ESL Centers mutual respect has been built as students learn each others languages and family histories and through a classroom exchange in which American students are treated to a day in the ESL classroom.

One of the greatest sources of difficulty for refugee students is the relationship between home and school. Their parents often put pressure on the children to study intensely. Education is understood as academic and vocational training; extracurricular activities are not included in the definition of learning and therefore dismissed as of little value. Yet it is through extracurricular activities that the refugee children establish social ties and gain confidence in the new school setting.

Many of their parents have had little if any contact with schools and formal education. Therefore, they cannot provide support in schoolwork or advice about educational decisions. As discussed by Wisconsin Hmong community leaders Song Yang and Vue Yang, "It must be difficult for the parents to adjust and also to see the problem because they want their children to have better education but they don't know how to help because they don't have the skills or the education to help them . . . The parents are afraid that the children are going too fast, they will lose their background, they will lose their roots. They will forget their language or what their duties are." Yet parents can seldom communicate these concerns to teachers because teacher-parent contact is limited by language and cultural constraints. Minnesota and Wisconsin Hmong leaders, therefore, stress the importance of drawing the parents into the schools through use of bilingual outreach staff. Bilingual resource teachers, Thanh Le in Madison and Nao Tou Yang in Sheboygan, included parental outreach among their other responsibilities.

Students often have many responsibilities at home to help care for and financially support their families both in the U.S. and those still living in Asia. The resultant psychological strain often has adverse impact on schoolwork; an extreme consequence was the student suicide described in "Pain and Promise."

Conflicts between home and school may be even greater for Laotian girls than for boys. It was customary for reasons described in the earlier article on education in Laos for girls to receive less schooling than the boys. Parents more strictly control the social activity of the girls, frequently requiring that a chaperone accompany them. Early marriage is the cultural norm for girls, especially for the Hmong. So, in American schools the girls are faced with many contradictions. School guidance and economic reality pressure them to complete a high school education and even to continue beyond. But they have few role models of educated women within Hmong society. Community pressure encourages them to establish a family as the means of recreating an extended family in America and thus rejuvenating Hmong communities. The girls frequently express their conflicting desires for the social mobility and independence of American peers and their allegiance to family and community. One of the rare efforts that has been made to help these girls work through the dilemmas arising from their transplantation to the U.S. is the Sheboygan Hmong Women's Group. With the assistance of an American social worker, a South High School teacher, and two Hmong outreach workers, a group of Hmong high school girls is meeting regularly to discuss problems and help each other cope with the changes they face.

All of the above can give rise to a conflict of interest and time between school and home commitments. As succinctly stated in the California report:

> The Indochinese child has to adjust to expected forms of behavior at school and to different expectations at home; he has to show quite a good deal of adaptability as he changes cultures. This ability to "switch" between cultures as the situation requires is the essence of cross-cultural adjustment; and upon this ability depends much of the child's success in being accepted by both forces. (p. 47)

There was concensus among all the school personnel consulted in making the two videotapes that, given the pressures on the refugee students, they should be provided with more culturally sensitive counseling than is currently available. Peer support groups should be established. In-service workshops should be continued to help teachers understand and work with these students effectively.

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E. Problems and Solutions from the School Perspective

There are three major issues that school personnel need to address.

1. Staff cooperation within and between schools

Teachers and administrators repeatedly cite cooperation among ESL/Bilingual Education Program teachers and mainstream teachers as critical to the educational success of the LEP student. This cooperation is essential to the articulation of materials and curricula within and between grades, to the transitions students must make from special ESL classes to mainstream ones, and to the morale and working conditions of the teachers themselves. Some of the problems which have arisen are:

a. ESL and mainstream curricula articulation and coordination is lacking:

- too little communication between teachers
- limited availability of bilingual materials and specially developed transitional materials.

b. Transition from ESL to mainstream:

- expectations of the preparation of students from the ESL program are often too high or low: variation by age, educational background, training in the ESL program.

c. Limit to the number of LEP students any one mainstream teacher can handle, particularly given the number of students and range of skills levels present in a classroom.

d. Feeling of isolation of ESL staff, feelings which are often paralleled by a sense of lack of support among mainstream teachers. There is a need for contact opportunities to exchange information and collaborate on curricula and classroom projects.

e. Need for administrative support to facilitate teacher contact and cooperation.

"It has to be cooperative between the classroom teacher and the TESOL teacher. It has to be with the kids' best interests and it's not always easy. Sometimes you have too many students and you have to sit down and say, 'How much can I deal with?' And the TESOL teacher and the regular classroom teacher have to be flexible, absolutely must be. If you're pushing against each other, it's not going to work. . . . Communicate that I can do it [work with the LEP students] for half the day comfortably. If that's the best you can do, that's the best you can do. And then the child benefits. If you're making it work a whole day

and one teacher is upset about it, the students sense that and you lose a whole lot in the mainstreaming."

ESL teacher, St. Paul

"At first when we sent the children from the ESL Center to their home school, we would have to call the school . . . and one staff member would take the child in a car and take them there and visit . . . And you can always tell the atmosphere in a school . . . if the principal would panic at the thought of a student who didn't understand everything, the teachers would also and it would be a domino theory and then the children would be wary about it."

ESL teacher, St. Paul

What are some solutions?

The first three points all help to individualize instruction without diverting too much of the classroom teacher's time for the class.

a. Inservice workshops:

St. Paul has run workshops to build and coordinate curriculum between schools within the district:

". . . we put together a team that developed what we felt was a very good curriculum . . . and following that we then launched upon a training program . . . It helped us put together a program that was instructionally sound, had continuity. But I think it also built a lot of understanding on the part of our staff who were trained. And since there were probably conservatively 25-30 buildings involved, as each of these persons went back to their building they carried with them not only some information about math and reading, but also a great deal about the program."

Assistant Superintendent of Instruction
K-12, St. Paul

Madison ran a workshop for school and non-school personnel to increase understanding about the Indochinese students:

"If I didn't learn anything else it was I was able to put myself into the shoes of every single one of those students in my school."

Mainstream teacher, Madison

b. Use of bilingual staff to provide occasional support to mainstream teachers and to students.

"The Asian teachers in the school can work as a liaison between the American teachers, the counselors and the students, and can

be the cultural and resource specialists to help the school when something comes up that they might not know how to deal with."

Bilingual aide, Madison

c. Use of volunteer tutors, as in St. Paul.

"We had a teacher come into the building for a probably 4-6 month period, who organized volunteers in the area, neighborhood people who started working with these students as well as other students who were having difficulties in reading and language skills. It has really done a marvelous turnaround."

Mainstream teacher, St. Paul

d. Use of writing labs.

The above three points all help to individualize instruction without diverting toom much of the classroom teachers time for the class.

e. Gradual mainstreaming: students are mainstreamed in one subject at a time.

"They usually start comming in to a mainstream classroom in a subject like social studies, spelling, certainly often times math, art; reading is usually the last because often they're below grade level in reading regardless of the grade . . . A little more of their day is spent in the regular classroom each week or two weeks. It starts with one subject or two and it grows upon the success of the student, the individual student."

Mainstream teacher, St. Paul

f. Transitional program as in Sheboygan, in which a mainstream teacher and bilingual aide work together in the classroom:

"We met with all the department people, and we said, 'What can we do? How can we work with these people to make it better for them, that's what we want, better for them?' And the teacher said, 'we think that if we went to transitional classes; we don't want to isolate these people all the time, but this is going to be better.' If we do the same material at a slower level, so they can all understand, ask questions, we'll have time for them."

ESL teacher, St. Paul

2. School - Parent Communication

Underlying the structure of American schools is an assumption that parents understand the basic schooling process and can help guide

their children through it. However, many parents, unfamiliar with the American school system, do not understand and cannot guide their children's educational experiences. The gap between school and home widens when parents do not speak English and have had little formal schooling, and therefore, have difficulty communicating with teachers, reading school notices their children bring home, or supervising their children's schoolwork. Conversely, schools may be unaware of the values, customs, and behavior patterns children bring with them from home. The children, already in the throes of major cultural and social adjustments, are too often caught between conflicting school and home expectations of them.

"Most parents, if they have been in a school, it probably wasn't for long and if it was for their children then it was usually because they'd done something wrong. And that's why we have trouble sometimes getting parents to come to PTA meetings or Open Houses, etc., or conferences, because they think it's only because the children have been bad. And we try to invite them and say, come and see the classroom and see what we're doing here. It's not that they've done anything bad. But it takes a while."

St. Paul classroom teacher

"We had a bus driver who picked up a child in the morning and on the return trip the child refused to get off. He said, 'I don't live here.' And of course, the child was limited English proficient. This child was right. He didn't live there. He knew that his parents had moved that afternoon. We didn't know that his parents had moved that afternoon."

Assistant Bilingual Education and
ESL Supervisor, St. Paul Schools

"We don't like the idea that she go play a lot and she can be at home helping work at home . . . she'll say why this be a jail all the time?"

"I never have homework and they are always telling me to study, but I don't know what to study, you know."

St. Paul Hmong father and daughter

". . . the adult refugees are troubled to the degree that parental authority may be shaken, but I think that the reason they came to the United States was their children and therefore I can see certain delight also . . . at the same time they have their fears."

Minnesota Coordinator Refugee Programs

"The parents want a better future for the children because they don't want their children's future to be like they are now. They want them to be better but they don't know how to help and that's very, very difficult."

Sheboygan Hmong Leader

"We got our first bilingual Hmong teacher in the State of Wisconsin. And that was really nice because he was a good link with the homes. You know, not any of us could speak Hmong, the parents couldn't speak English, so we had a communication problem."

ESL teacher, Sheboygan

What are some solutions?

a. Use of bilingual aides as links to the homes, as done in Madison, Sheboygan, and St. Paul:

"When meetings are organized by the schools to which the parents are invited, it is important that the Hmong attend. If they do not understand English, there should be an interpretor . . . In this way the parents can follow the educational progress of their children, and understand the system of education . . . If true cooperation exists between the schools and the Hmong families, this will certainly help the Hmong children to be challenged more and to progress more quickly in their studies."

Hmong Leader

b. Cultural events in the schools. These not only help in cross-cultural understanding but can also be used to draw parents into the schools through their participation in the events. The inservice workshop in Madison involved Lao and Hmong parents in the religious ceremony and in the meal service.

"Schools must be in close contact with refugee children's parents so their children will make the most of school. But many of these parents have had no education. Because they are unfamiliar with formal education, we must explain its importance to them . . . In order for parents to learn how to encourage their children to study hard, to make them understand and progress in their classes, weekend workshops should be held for parents."

St. Paul Hmong educator

c. Hmong and Lao Mutual Assistance Associations provide informational sessions and counseling for members of their own ethnic communities and for anyone else requesting their assistance. In Madison and Sheboygan they have organized youth

groups to help teenagers cope with some of the tensions that arise between home and school.

d. Counseling services in the schools.

3. Counseling

Indochinese students in American schools are under tremendous pressure. At the simplest level, they are faced with the challenge of learning a new language, switching school systems or starting school for the first time. Those who enter American schools at the high school level must all too soon decide about careers, job training and further education. Within the schools they too often encounter instances of stereotyping and prejudice. As they learn English, family responsibilities, including financial ones, fall to them. The Americanization process forces difficult choices on them--choices between tradition and change, family and friends, past and future. Most serious are psychological problems specific to their refugee experiences, problems which the children often conceal but which have a profound impact on their daily lives. All the school personnel interviewed in the three cities stressed the critical need for bilingual, culturally sensitive counseling for these students.

> "Many of our students are under a lot of stress. It's stressful to change cultures, but their stresses are even greater because they've come from a war-torn culture, the Indochinese refugees. Many of them have family members who are still there or are in refugee camps. In many ways they're changing centuries. Some of the students, not all, are coming from an agrarian society, a rural society, to the United States . . . high technology. It's hard to fit in and it takes a lot of energy and a lot of time."
>
> ESL Teacher, Madison

> "The first time I came here I even don't know nobody . . . only my family . . . I have to stay home all the time. And first few months I feel like I want to go back to Thailand or Laos, rather than live here in the United States. But anyway, how can I go back? Even money I don't have."
>
> Lao High School Student, Madison

> "They [the parents] don't have the education neither and they probably cannot help them [the students] so they always be on their own. They do everything on their own and nobody's telling them how to do it. And they sound discouraged because they don't have any support from their parents. They may drop out some high schools or they may not decide to go to college, or whatever and they really need a lot of help."
>
> Hmong Social Worker

"I went somewhere on the bus and then the boy said, 'The bus is only for us, not for you.'

What did you say? Anything?

No, nothing, I was crying . . ."

Hmong High School Girl, Sheboygan

". . . The problem [is] in the schools with Southeast Asian young girls, teenagers, who are leaving school in droves, just leaving at very early ages, wanting to get married, wanting to have children, having children very young and just not feeling that it's important for them to stay in school. And I think that's very understandable because that's their tradition, that's what women did, but I think it's going to be very difficult to do that here and to become self-sufficient."

St. Paul Foundation Representative

"One of the most difficult things to deal with for them--and it's not something that we're always privy too--is the feeling of guilt that they have. The feeling that here they are living in a rather rich society, most of them living in a very comfortable home, and getting letters from home saying 'we need penicillin, we need food, we need money, send what you can.' I think this was highlighted tremendously by the fact that we had one of our students commit suicide this past fall."

ESL Teacher, Madison

<u>What are some solutions</u>?

a. Bilingual counselors.

b. School promoted student-student interaction and student-teacher interaction. Sports activities and international cultural events have been successful in all three school districts. In Madison ESL teachers organized regular soccer and volleyball games for their students and staff.

c. Inservice workshops such as the cultural ones run in Madison have been suggested for students as well as for teachers.

d. Build self-esteem and confidence:

- St. Paul's elementary schools have activities to make their students feel like special people.
- Multicultural school activities help.

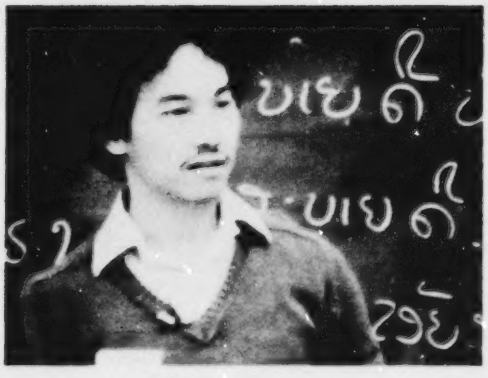
e. Use writing projects as outlets:

- Poetry and drawing assignments in St. Paul.
- Autobiographical class reader in Madison.

f. Mutual Assistance Associations:

In Sheboygan they have helped to establish and run peer support and counseling groups.

Chan Soon Olson, ESL teacher in St. Paul, Minnesota stresses self-esteem.



Song Yang, Director of Hmong Mutual Assistance Assoc., Sheboygan, Wisconsin, participated in an in-service workshop in Madison.

VI. REFERENCE MATERIALS

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23. Laos: The Land and the People. Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Services. May 1978. General social and cultural information. Intended for use by new sponsors.

24. Laotian Themes. Kao Outsama. Center for Bilingual Education. Board of Education, City of New York.
    1. Overview of Laotion customs.
    2. Educational system and learning styles in Laos. RMC 420.008.

25. Limited English Proficiency Students in Wisconsin: Cultural Background and Educational Needs. Part II: Indochinese Students (Hmong and Vietnamese). Constance Knop, ed. Obtain through the Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction. History of bilingual education in Wisconsin, LEP programs, Hmong and Vietnamese in Wisconsin.

26. Meeting the Needs of Indochinese Students. Arlington Heights, IL: Bilingual Education Service Center. February 1979. Highlights of a statewide workshop for educators of elementary and secondary school students. Includes cultural information, ESL techniques, program development, and models.

27. The Meo of Xieng Khouang Province. George L. Barney. Laos Project Paper #13. Waltham, MA: Brandeis University, 1961.

28. "A New Life After Laos." Beatrice Camp. America 144: 19-20 (1981).

29. "No Place to Run: The Hmong of Laos." W. E. Garrett, Washington, D.C.: The National Geographic Society. January 1974.

30. "One Family's Odyssey to America." The National Geographic Society. May 1980.

31. Project "Teach": Threefold Expansion of the Academic Capabilities of the Hmong. Sheboygan Area School District, 1982. Title VII Bilingual Education Program description. RMC 84.003.

32. Refugee Resettlement in the United States: An Annotated Bibliography. Washington, D.C.: Office of Refugee Resettlement, U.S., D.H.S.S., 1981.

33. The Refused: The Agony of the Indochina Refugees. Barry Wain. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1981. In depth coverage by a reporter with the Asian Wall Street Journal.

34. The Resettlement of Indochinese Refugees in America: A Resource Manual for Educators. Loras R. Kotinek, ed. Winnebago, WI: Institute of Human Design. Obtain through the Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction.

35. "The Shaping of Ethnic Self-Identity Among Indochinese Refugees." Kenneth A. Skinner and Glenn L. Hendricks. The Journal of Ethnic Studies. 7(3): 25:41.

36. "Southeast Asian Refugee Parents: An Inquiry Into Home-School Communication and Understanding." Mary M. Blakeley. Anthropology and Education Quarterly (14), 1983.

37. Southeast Asian Tribes, Minorities, and Nations. Peter Kunstadter, ed. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1967.

38. "Thailand: Refugees from Terror." The National Geographic Society, May 1980.

39. U.S. Department of Health and Human Services Reports to Congress. Office of Refugee Resettlement. 1980 to present.

40. U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare Reports to Congress. D.H.E.W. Social Security Administration, Office of Refugee Affairs. 1977 to 1980.

Kerry Bryne, teacher
and coordinator of
Project Teach, Sheboygan,
Wisconsin.

B. Films, videotapes, and slides

The following is a list of films, videotapes and slides about the Hmong and Lao.

1. Becoming American: Iris Film and Video, 1982, 59 min., color, 16mm and video, Hmong. Rental--New Day Films, P.O. Box 315, Franklin Lakes, NJ 07417. University of Minnesota Audio Visual Library Service, 3300 University Avenue. SE., Minneapolis. MN 55414. (612) 373-3810.

2. The Best Place to Live: Ralph Rugoff and Peter O'Neill, Best Place Video, 1982, 55 min., color, video, Hmong. Rental--Interlock Media Associates, 221 Massachusetts Avenue, Box 603, Boston, MA.

3. The City of Refuge: Iowa Refugee Service Center, 1980, 30 min., color, video, Hmong. Rental--Iowa Refugee Service Center, Communications and Publications, 4626 W 9th St., Des Moines, IA 50315..

4. The Common Thread: Toledo Public Television, 1981, 28 min., color, video, Hmong. Rental--Toledo Public Television, WGTE-TV, 415 N. Saint Clair St., Toledo, OH 43604. University of Minnesota Audio Visual Library Service, 3300 University Ave. SE, Minneapolis, MN 55414. (612) 373-3810.

5. The Cutting Edge: Judith Mann, 29 min., VHS, video, Lao. 3006 SE Tibbetts, Portland, OR 97202. (503) 233-1964.

6. Farewell to Freedom: The Moore Report, WCCO-TV, 1981, 60 min., color, video, Hmong.

7. Fitting In: Judith Guskin, 1983, 28 min., color, video, Hmong. Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction, Bilingual Education, P.O. Box 7841, Madison, WI 53707. (608) 267-9234.

8. The Gentle People: A Look Inside Laos: Southeast Asia Resource Center, 24 min., cassette, 140 color slides. Rental--SEA Resource Center, 198 Broadway, Suite 302, New York, NY 10038. (202) 964-6730.

9. Great Branches - New Roots: The Hmong Family: Rita LaDoux, Kathleen Laughlin, and Nancy Haley, 1983. 30 min., color 16mm and video. Hmong Film Project, 2258 Commonwealth Avenue, St. Paul, MN 55108. (612) 871-3151.

10. The Hmong Traditional Textiles and Music of the Mountain People of Laos: Nancy Haley, 1981, 7 min., color, 16mm. Rental--2258 Commonwealth Ave., St. Paul, MN 55108. (612) 871-3151.

11. Miao Year: CRM McGraw Hill Films, 1971, 61 min., color, 16mm. Rental--University of Minnesota Audio Visual Library Service, 3300 University Ave. SE, Minneapolis, MN 55414. (612) 373-3810.

12. No More Mountains: WGBH-TV/Movacom, 1981, 60 min., color, video, Hmong. Rental--University of Minnesota Audio Visual Library Service, 3300 University Ave. SE, Minneapolis, MN 55414. (612) 373-3810.

13. Our Secret Army: 60 Minutes, CBS News, 1980, 15 min., video, Hmong.

14. Pain and Promise: Judith Guskin, 1983, 30 min., color, video, Hmong. Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction, Bilingual Education, P.O. Box 7841, Madison, WI 53707. (608) 267-9234.

15. Peace Has Not Been Made: A Case History of a Hmong Family's Encounter with a Hospital: John Finck and Doua Yang, 1983, 25 min., color, video. Rental--Rhode Island Office of Refugee Resettlement, 600 New London Ave., Cranston, RI 02920. (401) 464-2127.

16. Postscript to a War: The Indochinese in America: DCTV, WITF-TV, and WXXI-TV. 45 min., color, video. Rental--Geoffrey O'Connor, DCTV, 87 LaFayette Street, New York, NY 10013. (212) 982-2627.

17. Refugee Road: Ohio Program in the Humanities. Rental--Humanities Resource Center, Capital University, 2199 E. Main St., Columbus, OH 43209.

18. The Way of Lao: 81-frame filmstrip or 81 35mm slides with English and Lao cassette narration, 28-page script in English and Lao. Db Productions, 1103 Midland Financial Bldg., Sixth & Mulberry. Des Moines, IA 50309.

Joe Thomas, Minority Coordinator, West High School, Madison, Wisconsin.

C. Sources for Lao, Hmong, and General Indochinese Materials

1. Bilingual-Bicultural Education, Ezequiel B. Vargas, Supervisor, Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction, 125 South Webster Street, P.O. Box 7841, Madison, WI 53707. (608) 267-9234. Bilingual-bicultural publications, audiovisual materials and staff assistance available.

2. Bilingual Education Technical Assistance Center, Tacoma Public Schools, 708 South G Street, Tacoma, WA 98405. (206) 593-6980.

3. Center for Applied Linguistics, Language and Orientation Resource Center, 3520 Propsect St., NW, Washington, DC 20007. (800) 424-3750 or (202) 298-9292. Cultural, linguistic, bilingual and classroom publications.

4. Center for Educational Experimentation, Development, and Evaluation, College of Education, 218 Lindquist Center, The University of Iowa, Iowa City, IA 52242. (319) 3653-4200.

5. Center for Hmong Lore, Sam Beck, Department of Public Parks, Dalrymple Boathouse, Roger Williams Park, Providence, RI 02905. (401) 421-3300. Hmong music tapes, cultural publications, family histories.

6. Center for Southeast Asian Studies, 4113 Helen C. White Hall, University of Wisconsin-Madison, Madison, WI 53706. (608) 263-1755. Classroom audiovisual materials, publications and speakers.

7. Hmong Mutual Assistance Association of Sheboygan, Song Yang, St. Nicholas Office Center, 901 Superior Avenue, Room 350, Sheboygan, WI 53081. (414) 458-0808.

8. Illinois State Board of Education, Porter Reed, Refugee Program, Bilingual Education Section, 188 West Randolph, Chicago, IL 60601. (312) 793-3850. Classroom aids and bibliography.

9. Indochina Refugee Action Center, 1424 Sixteenth Street, NW, Suite 404, Washington, DC 20036. (202) 667-7810.

10. Indochinese Language Resource Center, Indochinese Cultural and Service Centers, 3030 SW Second Avenue, Portland, OR 97201. (503) 241-9393.

11. Indochinese Resettlement Office, Department of Public Welfare, Space Center Bldg., 2nd Floor, 444 Lafayette Road, St. Paul-Minneapolis, MN 55101. Jane Kretzman, Director. (612) 296-8140.

12. Iowa Refugee Service, 4626 SW 9th, Des Monies, IA 50315. Information on Laotians.

13. Lao Family Community, Inc., 475 Cedar, St. Paul, MN 55101. (218) 221-9014. At this Hmong Mutual Assistance Association services include language training, job development and placement, counseling and emergency assistance. Newsletter available.

14. Lao Family Community, Inc., 1140 South Bristol, Santa Ana, CA 92704. National Headquarters.

15. Linguistics Department - Hmong Project, Macalester College, 1600 Grand Avenue, St. Paul, MN 55105. (612) 647-6392. Folktales available in bilingual editions.

16. Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Service, 360 Park Avenue South, New York, NY 10010. (800) 223-7656.

17. Madison Metropolitan Public Schools, Elena Chavez-Mueller, Bilingual Education Coordinator, 545 West Dayton Street, Madison, WI 53703. (608) 266-6556.

18. Midwest National Origin Desegregation Assistance Center, Enderis Hall, School of Education, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, P.O. Box 431, Milwaukee, WI 53201. (414) 963-5663.

19. Minneapolis Public Schools, United English Proficiency Program and Educational Media Services, 807 Northeast Broadway, Minneapolis, MN 55413. "Annotated Bibliography of Materials, Services, and Resources," April 1981.

20. National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education, 1555 Wilson Blvd., Suite 605, Rosslyn, VA 22209. (800) 336-4560 or (703) 522-0710.

21. National Geographic Society, Educational Services, Department #82, Washington, DC 20036. Reprints and regional maps.

22. Northwest Educational Cooperative, Bilingual Education Service Center, 500 South Dywer Avenue, Arlington Heights, IL 60005. (312) 870-4100.

23. Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory, Stephen Reder, 300 West Sixth Avenue, Portland, OR 97204. English language and literacy acquisition.

24. Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Language Affairs, Refugee Assistance Staff, 400 Maryland Avenue, SW, Reporter's Building, Room 510, Washington, DC 20202. (202) 472-3520.

25. Office of Refugee Resettlement, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 330 Independence Avenue, SW, Washington, DC 20201. (800) 424-0212.

26. Office of the Los Angeles County Superintendent of Schools, Downey, CA. (213) 922-6469. Annotated bibliography.

27. Refugee Materials Center, James B. Tumy, Director, US Department of Education, 324 East 11th St., 9th Floor, Kansas City, MO 64106. Bibliography of materials, free copies of a wide variety of informational and classroom publications.

28. St. Paul School District, Erma E. McGuire, Assistant Superintendent for Curriculum and Instruction, K-12, 360 Colborne Street, St. Paul, MN 55102. (612) 293-7813.

29. Sheboygan Area School District, John Kinnett, Coordinator, Language and Reading; Title VII, 830 Virginia Avenue, Sheboygan, WI 53081.

30. Southeast Asian Learners Project, Betty H. Seal, Long Beach Unified School District, Instruction Department, 701 Locust Avenue, Long Beach, CA 90813. Consultative services to schools; staff development; bilingual materials.

31. Southwest Asian Refugees Studies Project, Center for Urban and Regional Affairs, University of Minnesota, 313 Walter Library, 117 Pleasant Street, SE, Minneapolis, MN 55455, (612) 373-7833. Bruce Downing, Director. Publications, bibliographies and newsletter available.

32. West High School, Title VII Coordinator, Jack Siebert, 30 Ash Street, Madison, WI 53705. (608) 267-7001.

33. Wisconsin Resettlement Assistance Office, Susan Levy, Director. Department of Health and Social Services, 1 West Wilson Street, P.O. Box 7851, Madison, WI 53707. (608) 266-8354. Bilingual publications and staff assistance.

V. APPENDICES

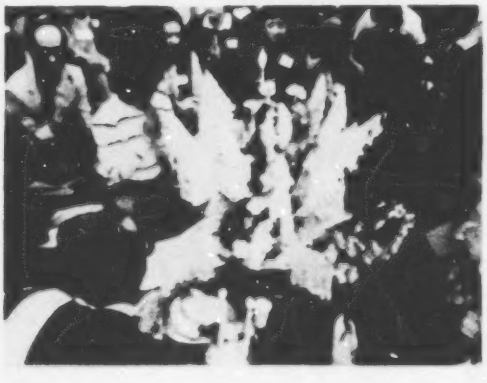
APPENDIX A

Sukhwan (BACI)

The Sukhwan ceremony seen in "Pain and Promise" is a common Lao and Hmong spirit ritual preformed on a variety of life cycle occasions. Each person is believed to have 32 khwan (spirits or souls) which together make a person healthy and strong. These khwan can travel from the body. The purpose of a sukhwan is to contact the khwan, protect them, and bind them to the person. It is therefore performed on occasions when the khwan are most likely to leave a person: birth, marriage, illness, travel, pregnancy, and changes of status (e.g., new job or enterprise).

The sukhwan is usually performed in a home, at a community gathering, by a community elder, male or female. Relatives and friends gather around a specially constructed centerpiece made of flowers, candles, incense, rice, food offerings, holy water and strings for binding the spirits. The essense of the ceremony is when the elder chants from a religious text to call the khwan into the person. The elder and all people present then tie strings around the wrist of the person being helped in order to bind the khwan to his or her body. These strings are worn for a ritual period of at least three days.

Details of the ritual vary among the Lao and Hmong but the symbolic meaning of the sukhwan is shared by both cultures. When an individual is undergoing rites of passage, of integration into a society or of departure from it, the community gathers to help that person. The community supports a person through a life change by helping him or her to establish spiritual completeness, and, through this, physical well-being.



Madison Public Schools
in-service workshop.

Reference

Buddhism and the Spirit Cults in Northeast Thailand. S. J. Tambiah. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1980.

Appendix 2

Poem
by Samoan Her

I am a Hmong. The Hmong are my people.

We used to live at Laos where it is not really cold, but cool.
We could climb a tree, we could play with a big top.

There was a big fight. My dad died, my grandfather died, my uncles died, my cousins' fathers died, all those people died.

We went and followed some of my cousins. Many, many people followed. We crossed the river.

No one was going to help my family cross the river, but my cousins helped us.

We flew in an airplane. We came right here to America in Minnesota. Americans gave us money to buy food. My cousins came here too.

Now I am happy. I like learning English in school. I like snow in winter. The people are nice.

I'm proud that we are free. I'm proud that my dad helped our people. I will never forget all my cousins.

NOTE: Samoan Her, a grade school student in St. Paul, Minnesota, wrote this poem as part of a class writing project. He reads it in the videotape "Fitting In."

Appendix C

My Life Before the U.S.A.

by Mao Thao

I was born in Laos; I live with my family. We had to live together. Then we were so happy and we worked hard. We stayed on the farm for many years. When I was a little girl, I worked hard with my mother because my father was very ill. We worked in the garden growing rice and corn. We had many pigs and chickens. If we didn't work, we did not have enough food to eat. I couldn't go to school.

I had to leave my country when the army shot at us. When the soldiers came to my country, we stayed all day and all night in the jungle. We waited until the soldiers went to another place. We went to get some things to eat. We were very hungry.

We ran around the mountain for three years. We had no place to live so we just stayed in the jungle. We slept on the ground. We didn't have food to eat, and no clothes to wear either. We were very nervous when the soldiers went from place to place. It was raining too much in the jungle. We couldn't stay there for many years.

My first day in this country, I felt terrible because everything was changed. I was surprised about some things that I never saw before, like teenagers holding hands. Now the things that I had never seen in my past life look ok to me and I also want to do the same as Americans do. But there are still

some things I dislike. When the winter comes, snow is falling down everywhere and it is cloudy most of the time. Everybody has to drive or spend money for every trip, short or long. In the summer it is too hot for the children to play outside. For my future, I would like to continue in my school until I get good grades or have a job.

NOTE: Mao Thao, a 12th grade student in Madison, Wisconsin, wrote this essay as her contribution to an intermediate ESL reader compiled by her ESL class. She reads part of the essay in the videotape, "Pain and Promise."